

SPECIAL REPORT



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AUGUSTE DENISE, President of the Council of Government, Ivory Coast; R.D.A.

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MAIL BAG

To the Editor:

RE: "Challenges to Federation in Central Africa", by Channing B. Richardson, *Africa Special Report*, September, 1958

People thinking in a vacuum may have had visions of the Federation leading to a democratic multi-racial state—informed thinkers did not. Federation leaders are determined advocates of European domination, Africans are not consulted, South African racial legislation is carried out, white settlers are flown in on specially chartered planes.

These facts are pointed out by Mr. Richardson, but, then he has the nerve to label African opposition to federation as unbalanced, emotional and highly selective in the arguments it uses, leaving the assumption that European pro-federation opinion is the converse. He refers to these outrages as "mass suspicions".

Let's have more honesty and call injustice by its right name.

Sincerely yours,
Doris E. Widerkehr
New York, N. Y.

A Christmas Reminder

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U.S. DIPLOMATS TOUR AFRICA

Twenty-One Foreign Service Officers End Three-Month Jaunt

Study-Trip First Of Its Kind For Africa, May Be Repeated

By LYMAN DRAKE

TWENTY-ONE AMERICAN Foreign Service Officers recently completed a three-month trip around Africa during which they traveled over 10,000 miles and visited 13 countries and territories. They were participating in a seminar designed to broaden their understanding of the peoples and problems of Africa South of the Sahara. The program was planned and directed by the State Department's Foreign Service Institute in cooperation with various governments and universities in Africa. Although a similar program has been conducted for some time in the Middle East, this is the first time the Institute has undertaken such a project in Africa. The seminar was made possible by a grant from the Ford Foundation.

Both high-ranking and intermediate level officers attended. They were carefully selected to include men with various interests and different degrees of familiarity with African problems. About one half of the men are currently stationed in Africa. Leader of the group was Mr. Fred L. Hadsel, First Secretary at the American Embassy in London. All the participants have had some contact with African affairs and will be concentrating on the area for the foreseeable future.

After some preparatory reading, the group assembled at Accra in early June. For ten days the men attended specially planned lectures and discussions at the University College of Ghana. In addition to the regular faculty, Ministers and other high government officials came to talk with the group. There were also visitors from Sierra Leone, Nigeria, Liberia, and French



MAP shows route travelled on 10,000-mile tour of African Continent.

West Africa. The men then boarded buses for a 1,300 mile circuit tour of the interior of Ghana. Leaving Accra again, they stopped briefly at Lagos on the way to Uganda. At the East African University College at Makerere they attended three weeks of 'classes.' There followed short visits to Nairobi, the Copperbelt and Lusaka. The group then spent ten days at Salisbury where the University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland organized a program. The itinerary was completed with visits lasting from one to four days at Johannesburg, Pretoria, Mbabane (Swaziland), Lourenco Marques, Leopoldville, Brazzaville, Abidjan, and Dakar.

In every city visited informal discussions were held with government officials and leaders in various fields. Political, economic, and social problems were considered and local leaders were encouraged to talk about the matters which they felt to be most important. After each conference the members of the seminar met to discuss their impressions. There was a general feeling among the participants that this group approach was far more rewarding than individual conferences would have been.

The Foreign Service Institute is reported to be highly satisfied with the results of this experiment. Although no specific plans have been announced, it is hoped that the seminar may be repeated in the future.

Economics aspects of

INDEPENDENCE FOR FRENCH GUINEA

FORMER FRENCH GUINEA, which General de Gaulle plumped into the ranks of Africa's independent states literally overnight Sept. 30, is a country which could have major economic potentials if plans for exploitation of its mineral resources materialize. These resources are only beginning to be tapped, however, and for at least a decade Guinea will continue to require large infusions of outside capital and technology.

Premier de Gaulle, by making good on what many thought was a pre-election bluff—the immediate severance of all economic aid as well as political ties with any territory which voted to “secede” from the French community—has placed Guinea Premier Sékou Touré in a very serious dilemma. Although the Guinea leader has averred that he prefers “freedom in poverty to wealth in servitude,” he actually had hoped—not very secretly—for both freedom and wealth. Before the referendum, Touré had stated publicly that he did not believe France would cut Guinea completely adrift if it opted for independence.

Despite the finality of Premier de Gaulle's dismissal of Guinea, less than 24 hours after the polls were closed and even before the final tabulations were in, the story of Guinea and the Fifth French Republic is probably not yet ended. Within hours after receiving the French note announcing Guinea's independence, Premier Touré told a news conference that he accepted “all the consequences” of independence, but hoped to remain in a direct or indirect association with France, would seek aid from France first, and would send a delegation to Paris shortly to discuss Franco-Guinea relations “if it would be received.” France, on its part, would obviously prefer not to write off the \$12,000,000 a year it has poured into Guinea economic development since 1948, but will have to move cautiously in establishing an economic *modus vivendi* with Premier Touré's government for fear of setting off a stampede of other French West African territories toward independence.

These are some pertinent facts about the economy of Guinea:

★Covering an area of 97,000 square miles, Guinea is located on the west coast of Africa, between Portuguese Guinea and Sierra Leone. Its mountainous hinterland extends far inland to the heart of French West Africa. The population of some 2,500,000 is rising at the rapid rate of about 2.5 percent per year. Conakry is the capital and principal port.

★France's financial support for Guinea in recent years has averaged roughly \$27,000,000. Of this, some \$6,000,000 has gone into public economic and social development through FIDES, another \$6,000,000 has been channeled to private and semi-public enterprises, and roughly \$10,000,000 has been expended on military support and administration. French private investment would make the figure much higher.

★Over 72 percent of Guinea's trade in 1957 was with the franc area despite the fact that most of

the minerals go to Canada, Germany, and the UK.

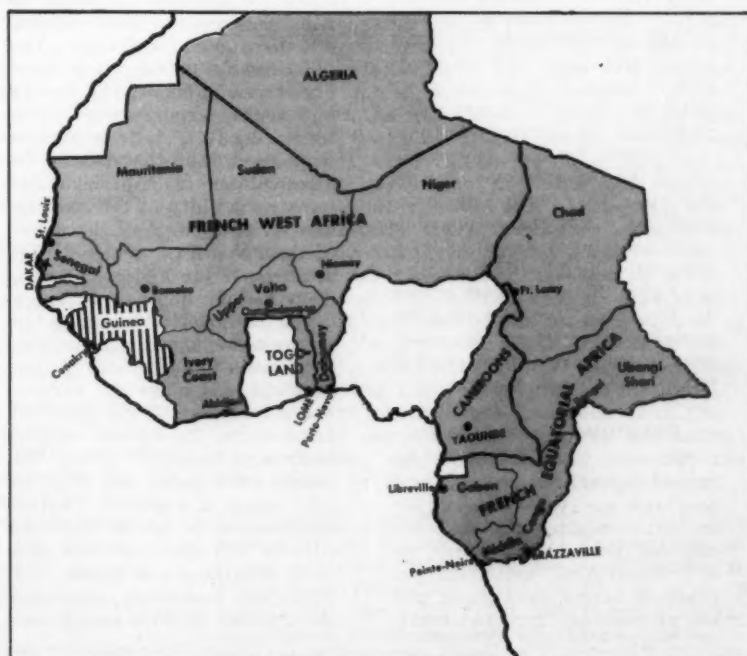
★Guinea's balance of trade is very unfavorable, partly because of heavy French imports of luxury goods but also because Guinea must import, for example, 10,000 tons of rice annually to supplement local food resources. Exports in 1957 totalled \$24,000,000 while imports were approximately \$44,000,000.

★Guinea's important economic potential lies in its rich deposits of bauxite, considerable low-grade iron ore, and some diamonds. Although exploitation is still in a preliminary stage, Guinea exported nearly \$2,000,000 worth of bauxite in 1957 as well as \$3,000,000 worth of iron ore and over a million dollars in diamonds.

★Guinea's iron ore and diamonds are being developed by private French capital, with French Government assistance. There are two major bauxite alumina concessions. The Bauxite du Midi Company, a subsidiary of Aluminium Limited

(Continued on Page 6)

MAP SHOWS French territories in West Africa and their capital cities. Striped area is newly-independent Guinea.



Below, "Africa Special Report" reprints excerpts from a statement by Obafemi Awolowo, Premier of Western Nigeria, on the eve of Nigeria's Constitutional Conference in London:

Rarely, in the course of human history, has a nation come to the eve of independence without a shot being fired, without a drop of revolutionary blood being spilled, with hardly a word spoken in anger.

"This achievement is a tribute both to British statesmanship and to the ability of Nigerian leaders to exert patience, discipline, and a sense of responsibility. These virtues, inherent in our indigenous cultures, have been nurtured through long association with the British who came into our midst first to trade, and then stayed to pacify and ultimately to unify the vast tropical territory which has become Nigeria.

"For obvious reasons, British Rule has been resented by Nigerian nationalists, and agitation for its termination has been vigorous and sustained. However, it is my opinion that on balance Britain may be justly proud of its record in Nigeria. We Nigerian people are fully aware that the British people have given their wisdom and sometimes their lives to help in building the Nigerian nation. Today, in the Governments of Nigeria, we have British and Nigerians working in harness together who are a credit to both their nations.

"... We are nationalists. But we are not extremists. We have journeyed to the eve of independence in peace. It is in this same spirit that we shall become a full member of the Commonwealth...

"We seek freedom in peace—for all the years to come. But we recognize that with our independence comes the responsibility of creating a system of government which will guarantee the rights of the weakest among us. We are determined that the mistakes made by certain other new States in recent years shall not be repeated in Nigeria.

FREEDOM FROM WANT

"Nigeria, with its vast untapped natural resources, should provide a reservoir of plenty for an industrious people. While our national income is low today, we are undertaking ambitious yet practical development plans, and we are seeking foreign invest-

ment on a partnership basis to help us build and develop our economy. It is not possible to achieve prosperity by legislation; but it is possible through legislation to create the kind of stable, progressive government under which a people can thrive.

FREEDOM FROM FEAR

"Before the British pacification of Nigeria, our people were divided into tribal groups which were virtually armed camps. No man was able to move about free from fear—fear of man, of beast, or of the forces of darkness. It has been only in recent years that our citizens have come to feel that they can move in safety from place to place.

"It has been freely predicted that, when the British leave, tribal rivalries and suspicions will revive. Such has happened in other new nations.

"It is my belief that this can be avoided through the creation of three new States or Regions. Nigeria is a heterogeneous community consisting of people of widely different origins, ethnical affinities, and cultures. The building of a nation out of these diversities is one of the boldest and noblest experiments in history. . . . It is quite erroneous to suggest that the creation of more States in Nigeria would impair the unity of the country, and seriously weaken the power of the Federal Government. The strength of the Federal Government will not depend on the letter of the Constitution alone, but on the will of the various peoples of Nigeria to contribute to that strength, and make the Federation a living, virile and dignified force. . . . To ensure lasting unity and harmony among the peoples of Nigeria, and to bring into being a vigorous Federal Government to which Nigerian citizens will spontaneously give their allegiance and loyalty, my Party has ceaselessly advocated the creation of three new States



CHIEF OBAFEMI AWOLOWO

or Regions in Nigeria before the attainment of independence on April 2, 1960.

FOREIGN POLICY

"Today, the world is divided into two blocs: the Western Bloc and the Russian Bloc. There is a discernible third Bloc which may be described as the Neutral or 'non-alignment' Bloc. It would be suicidal for Nigeria to remain neutral when the forces of democracy are threatened as they are today.

"Our external affairs outside West Africa after independence will therefore be guided by the following ideal:—The pursuit by Nigeria of a foreign policy which:

- "(i) maintains sisterly relations with Great Britain and close friendship with the Western Democracies,
- "(ii) promotes peaceful co-operation with all other countries of the world,
- "(iii) stoutly defends and upholds the rights and dignity of colored peoples in particular, and of oppressed peoples in general, throughout the world, and
- "(iv) adheres unflinchingly to the principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations Organization, and to every measure that makes for peace, concord and happiness among the peoples of the world.

"... we must take giant steps if we are to produce a Constitution under which our nation, which will be the largest free nation on the Continent of Africa, is to prosper and thrive in freedom."

—Reprinted from the London Times.

NIGERIAN PARLEY -- ISSUES AND PROSPECTS:

Eighty representatives from Nigeria--headed by the federal Prime Minister and the Premiers of the three regions and the Southern Cameroons -- began in London on September 28 the historic constitutional conference with the British Government which all confidently hope will lead to independence in 1960. The United Kingdom has insisted that workable compromises must be found for certain controversial issues which divided Nigeria's regional leaders at the 1957 conference, before full sovereignty is practicable. These issues have been placed on the agenda ahead of the uppermost question of a specific date for independence. Those regarded as crucial are:

- Is Nigeria's police force to remain centralized, or established on the regional basis sought by the Western and Northern Regions?
- Is the new government to be focused at the center, as now conceived, or should further concessions be made to Western and Northern pressure for greater regional autonomy?
- What action should be taken to protect Nigeria's tribal minorities, which are bidding for the creation of separate regions of their own in the south?
- Will the conservative Moslem North agree to the demands of the other regions for full adult suffrage, constitutional guarantees of certain "fundamental human rights," and the right of southern parties to campaign in the Northern Region for federal elections?

While the British Government has not committed itself on just what would be regarded as workable solutions to issues facing the conference, two Regional premiers have expressed somewhat differing opinions on the need for consensus at this time. Dr. Azikiwe has taken the view that even if there are certain basic questions still unsettled, these can be resolved by a constituent assembly convened within a year after independence. Western Region Premier Awolowo believes problems not solved at this meeting should be submitted to a plebiscite before independence. --H.K.

PRE-ELECTION TENSION IN THE FEDERATION

SALISBURY: The Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland is holding its first Federation-wide general elections Nov. 12, with the issues confused by several events over which the contending parties have little control.

Three parties -- the United Federal Party, the Dominion Party, and the Constitution Party -- are campaigning for the votes of some 85,000 citizens for 53 elected seats in the central Parliament. Garfield Todd's United Rhodesia Party, which suffered overwhelming defeat in the Southern Rhodesian elections earlier this year, will sit out this contest.

Campaigning got seriously under way in October, in the midst of a copper strike which affected most of the European electorate in Northern Rhodesia and threatened to

prove an embarrassment to Prime Minister Welensky's United Federal Party.

Meanwhile, mindful of its effect on the elections, Alan Lennox-Boyd, the British Secretary of State for the Colonies, issued his constitutional proposals for Northern Rhodesia, calling for creation of 8 elected African seats on the territorial Legislative Council and appointment of 2 African Ministers on the Executive Council.

The constitutional proposals in the North elicited a storm of protest from European politicians. Interestingly, the controversy centered on the African ministerial posts and tended to obscure the fact that when the Constitution comes into force next year, the number of Africans on the Northern Rhodesia Legislative Council will be doubled and chosen for the first time by direct election.

In Southern Rhodesia, meanwhile, the election picture is confused by the fact that both Sir Roy's U.F.P. and the rival Dominion Party under Winston Field are trying to appeal to all sectors of the European electorate at the same time. Prime Minister Welensky's recent back-peddling from a bid for full independence for the Federation in 1960, the gradual disuse of the expression "partnership" -- keystone of the 1953 Constitution -- in the local political vernacular, and an assortment of confusing campaign statements, make it difficult to assess the real intentions of either party on the all-pervading race question.

One of the striking features of the election is the light African registration under the complicated double role franchise system -- less than 500 throughout the 3 territories -- a statistic which is sure to have bearing on the Constitutional talks in London in 1960. --R.C.K.

COPPERBELT STRIKE HALTS PRODUCTION: Copper production in Northern Rhodesia has been at a standstill since Sept. 12, when the General Council of the European Mineworkers' Union called a strike at 6 mines: Nkana, Roan Antelope, Mufulira, Chibuluma, Ndola, and Nchanga. The Bancroft Mine, which is on a care and maintenance basis, was not affected because of an agreement between the management and the union. Only the 4,000 European workers are directly involved in the strike action, but 40,000 African workers have also been idled. The strike is the result of a deadlock in negotiations which began 9 months ago concerning the producers' efforts to introduce certain economies in the lagging industry by eliminating restrictive work practices. The main stumbling block has been that the union wants certain jobs reserved exclusively for artisans, while the company contends that they could be done by semi-skilled workers.

TANU SWEEPS TANGANYIKAN ELECTIONS: Candidates supported by Julius Nyerere's Tanganyikan African National Union have swept all seats in the 5 constituencies involved in the Sept. 8 elections, the U.N. Trust Territory's first democratic parliamentary elections, to be completed next February.

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FRENCH GUINEA

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of Canada, expects to invest approximately \$114,000,000 for development purposes by 1962, when annual production of bauxite and alumina from its concession near Boké in northern Guinea is expected to reach quantities presently valued at \$17,500,000. The recently-organized FRIA Company (comprising Olin Mathieson, USA, 50 percent; British Aluminium Company, 17 percent; Pechiney et Uginé, France, 23 percent; and Société Suisse pour l'Industrie de l'Aluminium, 10 percent) will spend approximately \$125,000,000 to develop the deposits located near Fria village in central Guinea.

★Further development plans for-

mulated by the French call also for the construction of a dam on the Konkouré River, a hydroelectric plant, and an aluminum plant, at a total investment of at least \$222,000,000. The FRIA Company, Bauxites du Bidi, and certain Italian and West German interests will join force to create a new corporation, African Aluminum (AFRAL), to carry on this final phase of the development of Guinea's bauxite resources. Prior to the recent turn of political events, France had applied to the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development for a loan to cover half of the cost of the hydroelectric scheme, and an IBRD study mission visited Guinea in the spring of 1958. AFRAL's eventual production goal is 150,000 tons of finished aluminum annually.

★These vast minerals projects are superimposed on the Guinea economy, and do not yet touch the majority of the country's inhabitants. Although some 5,000 local workers are employed in the two major bauxite concessions during the preparatory phases, total employment upon completion will probably not exceed 1,200.

★Guinea's economy remains primarily agricultural, and 95 percent of its people are involved in either growing or processing agricultural products. For the present, bananas, coffee, and minerals each account for a quarter of the country's exports. Other important agricultural products include rice, palm-kernels, rubber, pineapples, peanuts, millet, oranges, and meats.

—Helen Kitchen

(Continued From Preceding Page)

MADAGASCAR BECOMES A REPUBLIC: The East African island of Madagascar -- which approved France's new constitution by an overwhelming majority of almost 4 to 1 in the September 28 election -- has moved quickly to take up Premier de Gaulle's option of autonomy within the French community. The decision to become a republic was taken Oct. 14 by the island's 6 provincial assemblies, meeting jointly as a special congress.

Meanwhile, in French West and Equatorial Africa, a sharp political battle is in the offing between those conservative African leaders who want each territory to remain a distinct entity separately and indefinitely linked to France, and those who seek an end to the "balkanization" of Africa in favor of creating a wide-range autonomous federation linked to France for the time being but with full independence as an early goal.

France's new constitution -- emphatically endorsed by the electorates in 17 of France's 18 African territories in the September balloting -- stipulates that each territory may choose between joining France as an overseas Department or establishing a locally autonomous republic, with the additional option of full independence whenever the territory believes itself ready for this step. Autonomy, the present choice of Madagascar and probably of the other 16 territories as well, means that internal affairs will be handled locally by an elected local government while defense, foreign relations, and economic policy will be delegated to France, acting on behalf of the new French Community.

HOW FRENCH AFRICA VOTED ON THE CONSTITUTION:

	FOR:	AGAINST:
Dahomey	399,422	9,289
Guinea	15,551	573,470
Ivory Coast	1,086,890	158
Mauritania	113,897	8,160
Niger	167,272	39,670
Senegal	502,632	11,434
Sudan	327,421	8,267
Upper Volta	669,349	6,771

	FOR:	AGAINST:
Gabon	92,157	6,432
Middle Congo	274,103	1,526
Chad	182,028	1,734
Ubangi-Chari	378,880	3,997
Madagascar	1,178,595	332,294
French	8,661	2,851
Somaliland		

SOUTH AFRICA CALLS OFF TREASON TRIAL: South Africa's controversial mass treason trial of 91 men and women ground to a sudden halt on Oct. 13 when the government unexpectedly withdrew its charges. The prosecution announced it would seek a conviction on an amended charge of conspiracy and adherence to that conspiracy. Defense counsel has argued that the treason charge -- accusing the defendants of preparing to overthrow the government by force and setting up a "marxist-like" state-- failed to define the alleged offenses.

Earlier in the month, Dean Erwin J. Griswold of Harvard University returned from a review of the trial proceedings in Pretoria with a favorable report on the legal atmosphere in which the trial was proceeding. He described the treason charge as vague, but spoke most affirmatively about the competency and capability of the court. The 3 presiding justices are members of the supreme court of South Africa, Dean Griswold pointed out, which has a reputation for high standards of justice.

NEW DIRECTOR OF INSTITUTE'S WASHINGTON OFFICE

The African-American Institute announces the appointment of Mr. Gordon P. Hagberg as Director of the Institute's Washington office. Mr. Hagberg, who had been with the U.S. Information Agency since 1950, was most recently Public Affairs Officer at Nairobi, Kenya, in charge of the U.S. Information Service in East Africa, 1956-58. A Lt. Colonel in the Marine Corps Reserve, Mr. Hagberg is married and has 2 children.

The new appointment was announced after the resignation of Mr. John B. George, Director of the Institute from 1955, to resume his earlier career as writer, African consultant, and lecturer.

--Helen Kitchen

The Assimilado System In Portuguese Mozambique

"... it is practically impossible for a native ... to avoid the vigilance and supervision of the authorities ... Our native migration control system contributes in an accentuated manner towards the peace and quietness we enjoy in this period of agitation which Africa is going through."

—Sr. Afonso Freitas, administrator of Lourenço Marques.

By MARVIN HARRIS

IN PORTUGUESE LEGAL terminology, Mozambique, like Angola, is not a colony but an "overseas province"—an integral part of the Portuguese state. Citizens of this province are entitled by law to the immunities and privileges of Portuguese citizens who reside within the provinces of continental Portugal. Against criticism of their "colonial" policy, Portuguese spokesmen have stressed the similarities between the overseas and

metropolitan provinces and have twice defeated motions within the United Nations General Assembly which would have required Portugal's African possessions to be reported on as Non-Self-Governing Territories.

There is at least one difference between Mozambique and the provinces located within Portugal. In Mozambique, over 99 per cent of the population are not citizens. This group of non-citizens includes all

but some five thousand of Mozambique's six million Africans. Mozambique's native-born African non-citizens are legally defined as *indigenas* (natives). They are subject to an elaborate complex of juridical and administrative controls known as the *indigenato* which in substance and spirit confer a status radically and pervasively different from that of citizenship.

The juridico-philosophical basis of the *indigenato* rests upon the proposition that the mass of Africans are for the time being culturally, linguistically and intellectually unprepared to become citizens of the Portuguese realm. Portugal's presence in Africa is officially described as a "civilizing mission" whose objective is to convert the mass of *indigenas* into citizens by inculcating the habits and customs presupposed by Portuguese common law. As soon as each African comes to substitute "civilized" for tribal ways, he is, in theory at least, presented with the option of exchanging his *indigena* status for that of citizen. "Civilized" Africans who exercise this option are known as *assimilados*.

It is clear that in the formal architecture of Portuguese colonialism, much depends upon the rate at which *indigenas* are in fact being converted into *assimilados*. Is the *indigenato* anything but a Portuguese version of South African apartheid? If it is something more, one would look for signs of a large or rapidly increasing *assimilado* group as the first line of evidence. It is a source of considerable embarrassment to Portuguese spokes-

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men, therefore, that the census of 1950 revealed a total of 4,349 *assimilados* in Mozambique, thirty-three years after the first law regulating assimilation was issued. Since 1950 this number has undoubtedly grown by a few thousands, but it is unlikely that the increment will raise the total of *assimilados* to a significant percentage of the population. On the contrary, over the years the rate of growth of the *assimilado* group has barely managed to keep pace with the rate of natural increase of the *indigenas*.

Professor Adriano Moreira, lecturer at the Institute of Overseas Studies and member of the Portuguese delegation to the United Nations, has recently offered some explanations for the apparently negative results of the assimilation program. Least credible of these is his assertion that for "reasons of a policy based on the absence of racial discrimination" which "precludes the use of statistical methods based upon racial distinction", the 1950 census only enumerated *assimilados* who were born *indigenas*.¹ We are led to suppose therefore, that a significant number of "second generation assimilated" escaped the official enumeration. This proposal is difficult to reconcile with

¹ Moreira, Adriano. "The Formation of a Middle Class in Angola and Mozambique". *Compte Rendu, International Institute of Differing Civilizations*, Session 29, 1955, pp. 233-243.

the fact that the 1950 census of the "civilized" population of Mozambique regularly presents information tabulated according to the racial categories of White, Yellow, Indian, Mixto (mixed) and Negro. The number of "civilized" Negroes corresponds with the number of *assimilados*, leaving no room for unenumerated descendants of *assimilados* except in the Mixto category. The latter group contains 9,452 individuals who have one Negro parent. At this point the census does not distinguish whether the parent in question was an *assimilado* or an *indigena*, but even if we suppose that half of them were *assimilados*, the overall picture remains essentially unchanged.

Another more reasonable, if highly over-simplified, explanation given by Prof. Moreira centers around the fact that conversion to assimilated status is a voluntary procedure:

"It can be said that there is a discrepancy between the actual option of a way of life similar to that of European citizens and option of the legal condition of 'assimilated', a circumstance which can be attributed to the fact that the natives do not want to lose the advantages of Native (*indigena*) status".

There is no doubt that tens of thousands of *indigenas* in Mozambique possess all of the qualifica-

tions legally required for conversion to *assimilado* status. The question is whether the culturally assimilated but legally "uncivilized" *indigenas* refrain in fact from attempting to exercise their option. And if they do shy away from legal assimilation, is it because they do not want to lose the "advantages" of being an *indigena*?

At the time of the 1950 census, assimilation was governed by the Diploma Legislativo No. 36 of 12 November 1927, whereby:

Those individuals or descendants of the Negro race who do not cumulatively satisfy the following conditions are considered to be *indigenas*:

- (a) Speak Portuguese
- (b) Not practice the uses and customs characteristic of the native way of life
- (c) Have an occupation in commerce or industry or possess property from which a living can be earned.

In 1950 there were 164,580 Mozambique *indigenas* who knew how to speak Portuguese. Of these, 56,270 could read and write. Almost ninety thousand *indigenas* were residents of the cities of Lourenço Marques and Beira and of these the great majority can be said with certainty to be acculturated wage laborers. Thus even in 1950 there was considerable discrepancy between the number of those legally entitled to assimilated status and the number who were actually *assimilados*. It is not at all clear, however, that this discrepancy is the result, as Professor Moreira suggests, of the failure to exercise the option, or that if the option is not exercised it is because the *indigena* is satisfied with his status as a non-citizen. Several other highly probable interpretations merit consideration. Unfortunately it is impossible to do more than merely indicate what these other lines of explanation are. Unless or until conditions proper for free and objective scientific inquiry arise in Mozambique, we shall not be able to determine with certainty which of the factors deserves the greatest emphasis.

For purposes of illustrating the various possible reasons why tens



AFRICAN VACCINATION CENTER IN MOZAMBIQUE

Casa de Portugal

of thousands of literate, wage-earning, acculturated *indigenas* of Mozambique do not become legally assimilated, the Africans concerned may be divided into three groups.

1) Those for whom assimilation is economically undesirable since it would represent a loss of security or of income and who therefore do not attempt to exercise their option. This group readily fits into Prof. Moreira's explanation, but the group is probably very small, consisting of a few wealthy African agriculturalists, white collar employees of the government, and tribal authorities. By African standards all of these *indigenas* enjoy good to superior incomes. Their positions, however, legally depend upon their remaining *indigenas*.

2) Those who do not seek to exercise their option because they consider *assimilado* status to be socially or politically undesirable. Antipathy toward the figure of the *assimilado* is widespread. It rises in part from the belief that *assimilado* status requires the avoidance of one's family and friends. There are, of course, no legal sanctions against social intercourse between *assimilado* and *indigena*. Nevertheless, the *assimilado* is the focus of intense acculturative pressures and, like most upward-mobile individuals, frequently has to ignore traditional claims of kinship and break the social ties created during childhood. Hence, to many *indigenas*, the *assimilado* is a man who is putting on "airs", "pretending that he is white"—a cultural snob—who walks about in his "Sunday best" and who tries to belittle traditional African religion, cuisine, and values.

Other detribalized *indigenas*, especially some of those who have been exposed through clandestine emigration to the ferment in the Union of South Africa, regard the assimilated African as an outright quisling. Thus far, however, the Portuguese have been singularly effective in their attempt to stunt the growth of political consciousness and overt political dissidence. Hence objections to assimilation based upon African nationalist sentiments do not appear to figure prominently as a motive for resisting legal assimilation. But it is impossible to determine just how much weight should be given to this factor since the *indigena* who is careless about expressing his political opinions runs the risk of being declared an undesirable (*indesejavel*). The latter are subject to punitive administration procedures, in-



AIR VIEW OF LOURENÇO MARQUES, MOZAMBIQUE CAPITAL

Casa de Portugal

cluding deportation to Sao Tomé.

3) Those who aspire to, but are refused, assimilated status. This group consists of skilled and semi-skilled laborers (carpenters, shoemakers, painters, masons, chauffeurs, upholsterers, etc.) and marginal white collar employees such as bill collectors and office boys. *Indigenas* with these professions are actively discouraged from attempting to exercise their option and are rejected if they apply. The reasons for this policy are quite simple, although each case has its own particular nuances and complications. On the one hand, the administration appears to be under pressure from the civilized segments of the population to prevent any sudden increment in the number of African competitors. On the other hand, the administration is alarmed by the prospect of the lower pay of the African *indigena* resulting in large-scale competition between Africans and non-Africans in the urban arena. In Lourenço Marques for example, "civilized" bricklayers earn the government-fixed wage of 120 escudos per day while "uncivilized" bricklayers earn only 80

escudos. The administrator of Lourenço Marques has refused to assimilate bricklayers on the grounds that they soon find themselves unemployed since builders prefer to hire Portuguese countrymen rather than "civilized" Africans, when the same rate of pay is involved.

This group of skilled and semi-skilled urban African laborers presents the greatest problem to the administration. Assimilation of the group would inevitably result in the creation of a class of educated Africans sensitive to racial issues and ripe for political agitation. It is true that when these Africans are prevented from exercising their option or for other reasons remain unassimilated, they still present a fertile field for the seeds of African nationalism. But under the *indigenato*, trouble makers are easily controlled through swift and arbitrary administration measures.

The *assimilado* group as it is now constituted is made up almost entirely of Africans whose status has brought them substantial economic benefits and who are overtly loyal to Portugal. Apparently, the decision has been reached to let the pressure build up within the group controlled by *indigenato* rather than among the *assimilados* who are exempt from the curfew, pass system, labor contracts and other control techniques.

That the government is preparing
(Continued on Next Page)

MARVIN HARRIS is Assistant Professor in the Department of Anthropology, Columbia University. From 1956-57 he was in Mozambique as a fellow of the Ford Foundation's African Study Program. Mr. Harris is co-author of "Minorities in the New World," published this fall.

(Continued from Preceding Page)

ing to deal with the crucial problem of the literate, acculturated African by means of the *indigenato* rather than by means of the assimilation program is made clear from recent legislation and from administrative policy in the major urban centers. In 1954, a new set of conditions for assimilation was issued in the *Estatuto dos Indigenas Portugueses das Provincias da Guine, Angola e Mozambique* which raised the level of requirements far above those contained in the earlier statutes. In the new statute it is no longer sufficient merely to speak Portuguese; it now has to be spoken *correctly*. Whereas under the previous regulations it was sufficient for the applicant to have abandoned "the customs and uses characteristic of the native way of life", he is now required to demonstrate that he has achieved "the learning and habits which are presupposed for the integral application of Portuguese public and private law." It should also be noted that the interpretation of what constitutes "correct" Portuguese and the "learning and habits" basic to Portuguese law is left entirely to the Portuguese administration which as a result enjoys almost total discretionary power over applications for citizenship.

According to Professor Moreira in his book, *Administracao do Justica aos Indigenas*, with the 1954 statute the law took a definite stand with respect to the detribalized natives of the urban areas. Previously an *indigena* was defined as any Negro "who was not distinguished from the common members of that race". Today however, the law recognizes the fact that there are large numbers of Africans who are distinguished from their tribal ancestors in so far as they earn wages, speak (and write) Portuguese, live in cities, wear European garments, and worship European gods, but who still do not possess the attributes necessary for Portuguese citizenship. These Africans, according to Professor Moreira, have only achieved "partial cultural assimilation" and they must remain *indigenas* "until they acquire the education and individual and social habits presupposed for the integral application . . . of Portuguese law."²

Armed with this new interpretation of "civilization", the *indigenato* system is obviously designed

to hold out for decades despite the inevitable growth of the African population in the urban centers.

The Portuguese administration is well equipped to cope with the inevitable pressures which will arise as the *indigenato* more and more comes to embrace "civilized" *indigenas*. Lourenco Marques is one of the most tranquil cities in Africa. This is in no small measure the result of the model efficiency of the native administration. In the words of Sr. Afonso Freitas, present administrator of Lourenco Marques, addressing a meeting of The Institute of Administrators of Non-European Affairs at Durban in 1955:

. . . The pass book is an interesting document because it provides the identification of the native and of his dependents and also contains details which may be of interest to his life. It is a kind of biographical register of great utility which allows one in a few moments to know everything in connection with him . . . For the employer this is an extraordinary facility . . . No native can ever be admitted to work if he does not possess a pass book or if the pass book does not show clearly that he is free to be employed and authorized to stay in the city . . . Thus it is practically impossible for a native who has been living in the city illegally, or who has abandoned the service of a former employer, to avoid the vigilance and supervision of the authorities. As he will need to work and nobody will employ him, he will be caught in a short time. If he escapes from the city and looks for work in another locality he will not get it because in the pass book it is not shown that he is free. If he destroys his pass book and asks for a new one he will not go far, because the pass book will be requested from the place where he is registered and in the respective population record it will be shown that he has abandoned the employment, or any other occurrence. . . The authorities, knowing the necessity for each type of laborer, regulate the professional inscription in a manner to avoid unemployment as well as the lack of these units. . . Every native. . . has an individual file card where all occurrences of interest to his work are registered. . . All

registrations. . . are communicated to the authorities of the areas to which the native belongs. . . Thus on any occasion, the situation of the native is known, both in the locality where he is staying, by means of an individual file card, and in the administrative area where he has been included in the Population Records, and also by the pass book which the native must always carry with him. . . Our native migration control system contributes in an accentuated manner towards the peace and quietness we enjoy in this period of agitation which Africa is going through.

To complete this picture of control over the urban *indigena*, it should be added that in Lourenco Marques numerous associations of native entrepreneurs, craftsmen and service workers have been organized by the administration. These have the function of splintering the more enterprising of the urban *indigenas* into easily manageable groups and of regulating the number of "uncivilized" Africans who enter the arena of competition with the civilized population. Recently the administration has begun to clear native businesses from the downtown areas of the city, seeking to confine such activity to the native quarters.

Thus, as the urban population of Mozambique continues to grow without a corresponding increase in the number of *indigenas* admitted to citizenship, the *indigenato* is daily brought closer to the form if not the spirit of apartheid. In the urban areas the *indigenato* has already lost much of its juridico-philosophical rationale. The urban *indigena* no longer can be said to lack the cultural preparation normally expected for citizenship in a modern state, having in many instances surpassed the educational level and the standard of living characteristic of the mass of Portugal's peasantry. Yet only one part of Portugal's "civilizing mission" appears capable of being driven to a successful conclusion. The *indigenas* can be detribalized and induced to take their place in the wage economy, but can they be made loyal citizens of a European state?

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² Moreira, Adriano. *Administracao do Justica aos Indigenas*. Lisbon, Agencia Geral do Ultramar, 1955, pp. 22-23.

INSTITUTE TO SPONSOR LEADER-EXCHANGE PROGRAM

The African-American Institute is sponsoring a United States-South Africa Leader Exchange Program to further understanding between professional, business and civic leaders of the United States and the Union of South Africa. The new program's director is Frank S. Loescher, who previously was director of the City of Philadelphia's Commission on Human Relations and served as consultant to the Fund for the Republic.

Explaining the program, Dr. Loescher said that two-way exchange will enable Americans to see South African life at first hand and gain better understanding of the efforts South Africans are making to solve their problems. It will also enable South Africans to study America's way of life, see how Americans are trying to solve their problems, and become acquainted with American conceptions of the crucial role that Africa is playing in relations between East and West.

Three types of exchange fellowships have been planned:

1. *One-year exchanges of families:* The leader will actually work on the staff of an organization in the U. S. or the Union in his specific field. Responsibility for hospitality, job placement, finding a home, schooling for children and travel arrangements

will be borne by the employing organization. The Management Committee can provide matching funds to the employing organization, as may be necessary. Examples: librarians, journalists, industrial relations experts, government officials, clergymen, professors, artists, school teachers.

2. *Individual short-term projects:* This will enable the individual leader to undertake a specific piece of work in his particular field, and participate in conferences.

3. *Team programs:* Teams of four to six leaders may be selected to study intensively in the U. S. some particular problem, e.g. soil conservation, rural electrification, etc., facing the Union, in which the U. S. has knowledge and experience.

Dr. Loescher stated that the United States-South Africa Leader Exchange Program is seeking support for the regular exchange of a substantial number of leaders every year. To date, approximately \$150,000 has been contributed by 18 American and South African foundations and corporations.

Twelve American and South African leaders will be exchanged in 1959, including Dr. O. D. Scholtz, Assistant Editor of the *Transvaler*, a Johannesburg Afrikaans newspaper; Dr. F. J. DeVilliers, Organizing Director for Industrial Development of the Department of Native Affairs; Dr. D. Hey, Director of Nature Conservation in the Cape Province; David A. McCandless, Director of the Southern Police Institute, University of Louisville; Dr. Roswell P. Barnes, Executive Secretary in the United States for the World Council of Churches; and Dr. Guy Johnson, Professor of Sociology and Anthropology, University of North Carolina.

The first South African leader to come to the United States under the program is the Reverend J. S. Gericke, Vice Chancellor of Stellenbosch University. The Reverend Gericke, well-known pastor of the Dutch Reformed Church in South Africa and a leader in missions and student work, is studying the administration of American universities, student religious work and basic trends in American race relations.

The first American leader to go to South Africa under the exchange program will be Hodding Carter, editor and publisher of the *Delta Democratic-Times* of Greenville, Miss. Mr. and Mrs. Carter and their 11-year-old son will go to the Union for four months in January 1959.

An International Management Committee supervises the program and selects leading citizens for exchange. The Chairman of the Management

Committee is Dr. H. J. van Eck, Chairman and Managing Director of the Industrial Development Corp. of South Africa, Ltd.; the Vice-Chairmen are the Rev. C. B. Brink, Assessor of the Synod, Transvaal Dutch Reformed Church, (N. G. Church), and Dr. Lewis M. Hoskins, Executive Secretary, American Friends Service Committee; Prof. N. J. J. Olivier of Stellenbosch University is Secretary in South Africa; Dr. Loescher is Program Director and General Secretary.

The other American members of the Management Committee are:

Dr. George H. Bennett, Director, Asia-Africa, Institute of International Education;

Dr. William O. Brown, Director, African Research and Studies Program, Boston University;

Dr. George W. Carpenter, Secretary, International Missionary Council;

Harold K. Hochschild, Honorary Chairman of the Board, American Metal Climax, Inc.;

Prof. Rayford W. Logan, Professor, Howard University;

Dr. Edwin S. Munger, African Associate, American Universities Field Staff;

Leslie Paffrath, Secretary, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace;

Alan Pifer, Executive Associate, Carnegie Corporation of New York;

Gordon V. Richdale, President, Engelhard Industries, Inc.;

Rev. Theodore L. Tucker, Secretary, Africa Committee, National Council of Churches.

The other South African members of the Management Committee are:

H. Goldberg, Chairman, Lewis Appliance Corp., Ltd.;

Rev. W. A. Landman, Director of Information, Cape Dutch Reformed Church, (N. G. Church);

Dr. M. S. Louw, Chairman, Bonus Investment Corporation of S. A.;

Col. E. O'C. Maggs, Chairman, South African Tourist Corp.;

A. E. Rupert, Chairman and Managing Director, Rembrandt Tobacco Corp. of S. A. Ltd.;

T. P. Stratten, Managing Director, Union Corporation, Ltd.;

Dr. H. B. Thom, Rector, Stellenbosch University;

F. J. van Wyk, Assistant Director, South African Institute of Race Relations;

Rev. Dr. J. B. Webb, Chairman, Southern Transvaal and Swaziland District of the Methodist Church of S. A.

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Who's Here

CYRIL MARTIN, Director, East Africa Statistical Office and Statistical Advisor to Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika, and the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, is visiting the U. S. from September to December on a program sponsored by the Carnegie Corporation of New York. The African-American Institute held a reception in his honor September 25, in Washington, D. C.

M. S. MUSTAPHA, Minister of Finance, Sierra Leone, arrived in the U. S. September 28 on an official government visit, after representing his country at the Commonwealth Economic Conference in Montreal, Canada. In honor of Mr. Mustapha, the African-American Institute gave a luncheon October 1, in Washington, D. C.

The following are visiting the United States under the auspices of the International Educational Exchange Service, U. S. Department of State:

CENTRAL AFRICAN FEDERATION: Alun Rowland VAUGHAN-EVANS, Animal Husbandry Instructor, Domoboshawa Government School, Dept. of Native Education, Southern Rhodesian Government.

NIGERIA: Theophilus S. B. ARIBISALA, Senior Agricultural Officer, Agriculture Dept., Ibadan.

Mrs. Julia MENSAH, Ward Sister, University-Teaching Hospital, Ibadan.

Miss Margaret M. PEFOK, Nursing Sister, Cameroons Development Corp. Hospital, Ekona.

SIERRA LEONE: Thomas A. BLAKE, Editor, the *Daily Mail*, Freetown's leading newspaper.

SUDAN: George ABDINS, Assistant Inspector of Machine Accounting and Statistics.

Mohamed El Hassan ABU BAKR, Physician, Khartoum Hospital.

Amos Olatunji OKULAJA, Agricultural Superintendent in charge, Poultry Development Center, Fashoda.

UGANDA: Peter Dungu MPAGI, owner and manager of *The African Pilot*, Kampala.

KEEP UP WITH AFRICA

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TEACHING IN WEST AFRICA

By **RAYMOND J. SMYKE**
Staff Associate

The African-American Institute has for some time been the only organization in the United States with a full scale program designed to promote the placing of American teachers in African schools. American interest in teaching abroad, specifically in Africa, has increased since the independence of Ghana and the more recent general interest evidenced in the United States toward Africa. The visit of Prime Minister Nkrumah to this country last July was followed by a sharply increased number of requests to the Institute for information on teaching positions, not only in Ghana but the whole of middle Africa.

To determine the actual need for teachers in West Africa, two members of the Institute's staff made a brief survey of secondary education in Ghana and in the Eastern, Western and Federal Regions of Nigeria. Over fifty schools were visited, movie and still pictures were taken, and insight was gained during a 3,000-mile automobile trip. What follows is a general report on the state and prospects of teaching in Africa and how the situation relates to American teachers.

Considering the three main levels of education in West Africa it may generally be said that primary education is in a comparatively sound position at the moment, largely because the areas mentioned above have put a great deal of thought, work and money into the development of primary schemes aimed at universal primary education. These various schemes are bearing fruit. Although the rate of development varies with each territory, the intent is certainly there and implementation follows as quickly as local teachers can be trained and money for buildings becomes available. It should be said that educators concerned with primary education as well as the various ministries of education are not satisfied with the progress to date: this in itself is a healthy sign. The need for American primary school teachers is not urgent, and except for Sierra Leone, in the territories

comprising what used to be called British West Africa, the local governments are coming to grips with universal primary education.

University teaching has been adequately cared for by the various British organizations sending teachers to overseas territories, such as the Inter-University Council. Where vacancies did exist, American Fulbright and other



MUSLIM HIGH SCHOOL: Bungalow housing for American couple placed by African-American Institute.

scholars coming out for a year or more of lecturing and research were able to fill most of the gaps.

There is still a shortage of lecturers in the critical disciplines of the physical and natural sciences and an oversupply of people on the university level qualified to teach only in the social sciences. A somewhat unusual situation should be mentioned regarding those particularly qualified Americans who wish to teach in African university colleges. Since a number of these university colleges are staffed by British educators, the primary source of supply of lecturers comes from the United Kingdom. It is quite understandable that most vacancies are advertised in the U. K. and that agencies doing recruiting for university colleges look first to the U. K. for qualified people. It is, however, a little more difficult to understand why exceptionally qualified American PhD's with long teaching and publication experience in the critical disciplines of the natural and physical sciences are passed over when applying through normal channels of such recruiting agencies as the Inter-



MUSLIM HIGH SCHOOL at Shagamu, Western Nigeria. At left, ground is being broken for a science building. About 150 students are enrolled at the 3-year-old school.

University Council.

The not too pressing situations on the primary and university level were clearly evident to the Placement program of the Institute when it decided to concentrate on the secondary level. It was not until the recent observations were made in West Africa that the secondary situation was deemed critical. Looking broadly at this level three factors are readily discernible. First, the statistics alone indicate the gravity of the situation in secondary education (henceforth education will mean secondary, unless otherwise specified). For example, in the Western Region of Nigeria with a population of 8 million, there are 117 secondary schools, with less than one per cent conducting a sixth form, i.e., the post secondary two-year course leading to the Higher School Certificate. Nevertheless this is an increase from the 108 listed in the Digest of Statistics, 1956, published by the Federal Education Department in 1957. Several years ago an urgent program to increase sixth forms at the rate of five a year was begun in the Western Region. Largely because of staffing difficulties the program broke down in the first year. The government in this region votes large amounts to secondary education and is extremely conscious of the needs, but its hands are tied because of lack of staff.

Several people mentioned to us that Nigeria will not produce locally trained teachers in sufficient numbers for its secondary schools, "in the foreseeable future." The crux of the problem is that, given a smoothly operating system of universal primary education and given the excellence of the beautiful University College of Ibadan, there are not sufficient secondary schools and sixth forms to give those finishing primary school an opportunity to go to the University College. A definite bottleneck exists in secondary education with no immediate hope of relief. We were repeatedly told in Nigeria that with sufficient staff the other problems could be

handled internally.

With the building of the proposed University of Nigeria in the Eastern Region the situation will be perhaps even more critical. Though universal primary education had initial difficulties in the East, it is developing with the idea of providing one new class per year.

Secondly, the question must be asked: are enough expatriate teachers coming from the U. K. or other areas of the Commonwealth? There are two principal agencies for recruiting teachers from the U. K. One is the Oversea Appointments Bureau of the International Missionary Council which is under the direction of the Reverend Mr. R. D. Rees. Since its inception in 1952 the OAB has placed approximately 400 teachers in Africa and other overseas areas. Its rate of returned teachers who did not finish contract is only 5-10%, an exceptionally good record.

Despite the excellent work done by the OAB, the number of people now available in the U. K. to go overseas is diminishing. Demands at home may be cited as one reason. It has recently been announced in England that 16,000 places in teacher training colleges and schools will be made by 1963. The staff required to serve home needs must of course take priority.

The second main recruiter of teachers is the Colonial Office itself. It has carried on this job for a period of years and has devised a good screening procedure utilizing returned overseas officers. However the people who go out under this program prefer to go to strictly colonial areas, such as East and Central Africa, where they will be appointed education officers on contract or pensionable terms. Few prefer to serve in West Africa where things are 'unsettled' in the colonial sense and where the people on pensionable terms are not sure of their future. Thus in answer to the initial question, there are not, in fact, a sufficient number of teachers coming out to West Africa from the United Kingdom.

(To Be Concluded)

Quotes to Note

M. Houphouët-Boigny, Minister of State in the French Government and President of the R.D.A. (Rassemblement Démocratique Africain), on choosing community with France rather than outright independence: "With the help of Metropolitan France and our own will, I think we shall catch up with Ghana and strive to pass her."

Guinea Premier Sékou Touré, in a statement to the press on August 30, following General de Gaulle's definition of a "no" vote on the constitution as a vote for secession from the French community of nations: "We have already made it plain to General de Gaulle that we prefer freedom in poverty to wealth in servitude. If the issue lies between approving a constitution impairing African freedom and dignity and accepting immediate independence, as stated by General de Gaulle, Guinea will choose independence without the least hesitation."

Prime Minister Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, writing in the magazine *Foreign Affairs*: "Thus it is not indifference that leads us to a policy of non-alignment. It is our belief that international blocs and rivalries exacerbate and do not solve disputes and that we must be free to judge issues on their merits and to look for solutions that are just and peaceful, irrespective of the Powers involved."

... Powers which pursue policies of good will, cooperation and constructive international action will always find us at their side. In fact, perhaps 'non-alignment' is a misstatement of our attitude. We are firmly aligned with all the forces in the world that genuinely make for peace."

Sir Roy Welensky, Prime Minister of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, in a speech delivered in Kenya: "... as I see it there is a growing common cause in Africa, which is not concerned with nationality, creed or race, which requires a new interdependence of the nations of the continent, in defence of their free way of life, and indeed in defence of the ideals of freedom and independence themselves. ... we would be blind if we did not see Africa as others now see it, a strategic prize of the first magnitude and one to be gained by any possible means, whether now or at some future date."

A Christmas Reminder

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PENNYWHISTLE MUSIC

BRIGHTENS JOHANNESBURG SLUMS

By OLIVER WALKER

PENNYWHISTLE MUSIC is what we call 'kwela' music, born originally in the gutters of Johannesburg's slums. The players are Africans or Natives or Bantu, as they are often called, who may not have a seat to their pants, but usually have a song in their souls.

Any street-corner will do for a 'kwela' or pennywhistle session. All you need is a tin whistle. Add a guitar and you can have a ball.

Now pennywhistle music has been commercialized and become international. But its origins are as pastoral as any reed-pipe cut by the great god Pan.

You do not have to be a musician

THE ALEXANDRA JUNIOR BRIGHT BOYS BAND. L. to R.: Johnny Pondo, guitarist; Lemmy; and pennywhistlers Jerry Mabaso, Robin Lokoane, and Chris Kolongo.



—in African eyes—to play a flute. Any herd-boy standing stork-legged on one bare foot minding the cattle can blow a tune on a hollow stick cut from the reeds or a clump of bamboo.

Some of these tunes, which are only three or four notes endlessly repeated, make the substance of pennywhistle music played by sophisticated urban African bands.

The name "kwela" is reckoned to be Zulu in origin. It comes from word of command given by policemen when ordering black prisoners to climb into a pick-up van. "Kwela! Kwela!" they shout, or "Get a move on! Jump to it!" And so, out of their sorrows the African people have made songs.

Pennywhistle music might have stayed on the street-corners but for the influence of American jazz and the existence of a Tin Whistle Alley which has learned how to capitalize on popular taste and love for novelty in dance music.

This is how it works. An immense market for cheap 10-inch 78 records exists among Africans south of the Congo. It is the only kind of music they can buy, for they cannot afford radior-sets, there are no programs worth mentioning that cater specially for them, and the records are cheap. Johannesburg alone has more than 20 companies pressing records exclusively for the African portable gramophone market. So long as average sales of a record are 2,000 or above it is worth while pressing a new disc. But best-sellers among pennywhistle music like "Au, Dhladhla", sung by a trio of girls with whistle-and-guitar accompaniment, can sell 60,000 copies and more.

Different recording companies have their pet bands on contract. The bandsmen may be cooks, messengers, liftmen, laborers, house-servants—anything menial in the daytime. But on disc their names soon get known and they can be-

come famous round Africa.

They do not make much money on record-cutting. They prefer cash—a few pounds for a couple of new numbers—to any involved transaction granting them royalties.

One exception is a 12-year-old slum child Lemmy Special Mabaso who, with ex-herd boy Spokes Mashiyane, is the most virtuosic of all the African pennywhistlers.

Lemmy is a showman to whom leading American jazz musicians visiting Johannesburg like Bud Shank and Tony Scott (the clarinetist) take off their hats. Lemmy stands two bricks high, and often less than one as he gyrates and crouches with his pipe never far from his lips.

Lemmy's combination consists of four other whistlers to keep a basic syncopated sound along with a strumming guitar while he invents arabesques and embellishments.

He does not confine himself to purely African tunes. Very often the recording company will call him in and play him some new American dance-music. Lemmy and his boys listen to the tunes, and pick out any phrase they like. From that simplified melody they will extemporize a new tune with the characteristic 'kwela' beat.

"Sometimes," says Hugh Tracey, leading expert on African folk music, "it happens that a tune which originated in Africa and has been streamlined by American orchestral arrangers into a hit parade success comes back to its own humble origins to be re-transcribed."

"That very popular dance-tune 'Wimoweh' is a case in point. It originated, according to my knowledge, as a traditional Zulu chorus 'Ibube' meaning 'Lion'. In fact I have it among my collection of folk tunes as such. Someone took it overseas with them to America, gave it the Hollywood treatment, and rechristened it 'Wimoweh'."

"I suppose like many other catchy



LEMMY "SPECIAL" MABASO, 12-year-old pennywhistle virtuoso.

—Photos courtesy of Ebony Magazine, Johnson Publishing Company

tunes it would have blushed unseen if it hadn't been taken up by someone who realized its commercial value. . . ."

Among Hugh Tracey's collection of 9,000 African folk-songs recorded between the Belgian Congo and the Cape are many of tribal minstrels playing crude flutes. Most of the flutes have only four stops. The mouthpiece may be a V-shaped notch which the musician blows across in order to get variety of tone. Sometimes they hum into the reed also to obtain a curiously resonated effect.

Two forces have helped foster pennywhistle music until it has broken into the white commercial market. One is the natural contagious vigor that goes with music born in the slums. The other is the growth of stage variety shows giving African musicians a chance to strut their stuff in front of audiences, white and black.

American jazz was born in the honky-tonk districts of New Orleans, so the precedent for Johannesburg slums being the seed-bed for the current pennywhistle vogue is a well-established one. Slum-life in Johannesburg is, however, a little different from what might be found in America or Europe. First there is the extraordinary mixture of African dialects thrown into the melting-pot with Zulu and Basuto

predominating, but liberally interlarded with the two official white languages—English and Afrikaans.

In consequence a new kind of slang sometimes called "Lingo" or "Tsotsi" is emerging which the "wide boys" in their cheap imitation American clothes consider it smart to use. "Honey, chile", "Baby", "Doll", and other Americanisms borrowed from dance-tunes are very fashionable.

Just as fashionable are the latest dance-tunes and the danceband instruments that go with them—saxophones, drums, trumpets and electric guitars. But since few, if any, of the musicians who play these instruments can read music or have ever had proper tuition, they always manage to give an African coloration to whatever they play.

The fact that gangsterdom is rife in the slum townships does not necessarily have any American connotation. Usually the gangs belong to one ethnic group. The biggest in the western slums of Johannesburg is known as "The Russians". They are all Basutos and distinguishable by their plaited, conical straw hats and bright-colored blankets.

Their favorite dance which goes well with 'kwela' or pennywhistle music is the 'famo'. But you would never get any urbanized Zulus to dance this measure.

On the other hand the predecessor to jive—the forerunner to 'kwela'—was the 'Marabi' dance which originated in a gang by that name which terrorized the townships in the 1930's. "Marabi" was an Africanized corruption of the word "Rebel", for the invariable custom is for Africans to add the prefix "Ama-" to words borrowed from the English.

Pure African folk music—with rare exceptions—has no great appeal for white South Africans beyond what goes with a strong beat. The African mode is, so far as it has been charted, a strange one to Western ears. It is persistently sharp, and the degrees of sharpness are far finer than can be indicated by semi- or quarter-tones.

The bridge between African minstrelsy and white appreciation has been created by American jazz and the Africans' gift for emoting in imitation of 'Satchmo' Armstrong, Nat King Cole, and Charlie Parker. The names of their most popular combinations of singers—the Manhattan Brothers, the Woody Woodpeckers, and Darktown Strutters, the Brownspots and others show where they find their idols.

And though there are purists who fiercely deprecate this often slavish imitativeness, it cannot be denied that Africans have a special flair for singing the homesick ballads of Tin Pan Alley and making their brash sentiments sound like their very own.

"How potent cheap music is!" sighed the Noel Coward character, and how potent is the manner in which completely unknown African gutterside minstrels get hold of a catchy simple tune and pound it out until their bodies and limbs are possessed by the old black magic of rhythm.

Half-a-dozen nationally known African variety companies are constantly on tour in South Africa playing to white and black audiences. Their repertoire is made up of American jazz solos and group numbers mixed with some indigenous singing and dancing.

For white audiences as well as black, it is the American hit tunes and the latest in dance-music—like pennywhistle numbers—which get the loudest applause.

But Africans don't talk about pennywhistle music, or even 'kwela' music any more. They call it "Go, man, Go" music.

OLIVER WALKER is Music Critic on the Johannesburg Star, South Africa's leading English language newspaper.

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THE EDITOR

NEWS POINTS

DR. MICHAEL WOOD, a prominent Nairobi surgeon, has been unanimously elected president of the Capricorn Africa Society to replace Colonel David Stirling, who has served as its head for 10 years. Colonel Stirling has accepted the honorary position of Founder of the Society.....THE GHANA GOVERNMENT banned the opposition United Party from holding public meetings anywhere in Ghana until after the October 21 regional assembly elections. The government's position is that, since the United Party announced that it would boycott the elections, any meetings held might provoke breaches of the peace.....DR. KOFI A. BUSIA, leader of the Ghana Parliamentary Opposition, has announced that he will resign from his post as head of the Department of Sociology at Ghana University College to continue full-time in the political field. He has just completed two years' leave from the college and had expected to return to teaching shortly.....THE FLOW of the Zambezi River, which has continued unchecked for thousands of years, will be almost completely under man's control this month when the four remaining gaps in the main Kariba dam wall are sealed off. Completion of the wall will create the largest man-made lake in the world, about 175 miles long.....MORE THAN 500 delegates from all parts of Africa will attend an eight-day "all African people" conference in Ghana from December 5-12. The meeting is sponsored by political and labor organizations in the African countries, including the Convention People's Party of Ghana and the National Council for Nigeria and the Cameroons (N.C.N.C.) in Nigeria. In addition to discussing means of countering colonialism, imperialism, racialism, and discriminatory legislation, the conference reportedly will debate the possible grouping of African states into a "United States of Africa".....ACCRA REPORTS the receipt of a gift of 5,000 tons of American corn "to aid the present emergency situation caused by the drought and crop failure".....GHANA officially announced on October 5 that it will sponsor the new Republic of Guinea for admission to the UN.....SOUTH AFRICA, which resumed full participation in the United Nations in September after a two-year absence in protest over alleged UN interference in its internal affairs, walked out again last month in protest against the "hostile" attitude of the majority of the Assembly's fourth committee, which was discussing a recommendation that Southwest Africa be partitioned between the UN and South Africa. --Helen Kitchen

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